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BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: CSCE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ROMANIANS, MAY 31 -
JUNE 1, 1977

1. AMBASSADOR VALENTIN LIPATTI, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS DEPUTY
EUGEN POPA, VISITED WASHINGTON MAY 31 TO JUNE 1 FOR
CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE. LIPATTI MET WITH A US DELEGATION
LED BY AMBASSADOR ALBERT W. SHERER, JR., HEAD OF DELEGA-
TION TO THE BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING, AND ALSO WITH
MATTHEW NIMETZ, COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT. FOLLOWING
ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF US-ROMANIAN CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE.

2. GENERAL REMARKS: LIPATTI NOTED THE HIGH REGARD IN WHICH PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT HOLD THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. LIPATTI STATED THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD BEGINNING IN FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION AND STRESSED THAT NO ONE EVER BELIEVED THE FINAL ACT WOULD BE WHOLLY IMPLEMENTED IN TWO YEARS. NOTING THAT SOME COUNTRIES' IMPLEMENTATION HAD BEEN TOO SLOW IN CERTAIN AREAS, LIPATTI EMPHASIZED THE LONG-TERM NATURE OF THE COMMITMENTS CONTAINED IN THE FINAL ACT. HE ALSO MENTIONED THREE NEGATIVE PHENOMENA FROM ROMANIA'S POINT OF VIEW: A) THAT SOME HAVE TRIED TO APPLY THE FINAL ACT IN BLOC-TO-BLOC

FASHION. THIS WAS CLEARLY AGAINST BASIC TENETS OF ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY; B) THAT SOME HAVE TRIED TO ADOPT A SELECTIVE APPROACH TO THE FINAL ACT. FRAGMENTARY IMPLEMENTATION OR UNDUE EMPHASIS ON A PARTICULAR ASPECT OF THE FINAL ACT DESTABILIZED THE EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN BASKETS WORKED OUT IN GENEVA; C) THAT THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVE LACK OF PROGRESS ON REGIONAL DISARMAMENT AND DISENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE, CREATING GAP BETWEEN POLITICAL CONCEPTS OF DETENTE AND SECURITY EMBODIED IN CSCE AND MILITARY REALITY. THIS LEADS ROMANIA TO FAVOR PROMINENT PLACE FOR CBMS ISSUES AND OTHER REGIONAL DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS AT BELGRADE.
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3. BELGRADE MAIN MEETING: LIPATTI NOTED THAT BELGRADE IS NOT A SECOND CSCE AND HAS NO MANDATE TO WRITE A SECOND FINAL ACT. BELGRADE SHOULD BE A WORKING MEETING AND SHOULD BE SEEN AS BUT THE FIRST STEP IN IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW CONDUCTED BY FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. LIPATTI EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT WITH SOVIET VIEW THAT BELGRADE SHOULD BE PURELY CONSULTATIVE MEETING; ROMANIANS BELIEVED SOME DECISIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN AT BELGRADE. WHILE NOT TAMPERING WITH THE FINAL ACT IN ANY WAY, ROMANIANS BELIEVE THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME OF BELGRADE SHOULD BE "MORE DYNAMIC" APPLICATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN ALL ASPECTS.

4. OBJECTIVES FOR BELGRADE: ACCORDING TO LIPATTI, MAIN OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE PROFOUND EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND EVALUATION OF FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION BY PARTICIPATING STATES. ROMANIANS VIEW THIS EVALUATION AS A PRELIMINARY ONE SINCE IT COMES ONLY TWO YEARS AFTER THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED. LIPATTI EMPHASIZED THERE SHOULD BE NO PUBLIC SCANDAL OR STERILE DEBATE. IN ADDITION, LIPATTI STATED THAT ROMANIANS WERE OPPOSED TO AN UNDULY OPTIMISTIC EVALUATION, AND THUS TO THE CONCLUSION THAT NOT MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE. THE ROMANIANS FAVOR A MIDDLE APPROACH FEATURING A SERIOUS AND HONEST EVALUATION WHICH WOULD SHOW WHAT HAS BEEN DONE, WHAT IS POSSIBLE, WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE, AND WHAT IS FOR THE PRESENT IMPOSSIBLE. THE REVIEW

SHOULD BE DISPASSIONATE, NON-ACCUSATORY, AND DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION.

5. MODALITIES OF MAIN MEETING: LIPATTI STATED THAT ROMANIA WAS AGAINST DECIDING IN ADVANCE ON A TERMINATION DATE FOR THE MAIN MEETING. HE CITED THE TACTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THIS AND THE DANGER THAT IF A TERMINATION DATE WERE AGREED UPON IN THE PREPARATORY MEETING, THE MAIN MEETING WOULD SPEND TWO MONTHS DOING NOTHING, WITH A RUSH OF QUICK WORK AT THE END. THE US SIDE INDICATED IT AGREED
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WITH THE ROMANIAN POSITION ON THIS QUESTION. ROMANIANS STATED THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NEED TO HEW VERY CLOSE TO WORDING OF THE FINAL ACT, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO SIMPLY COPY THE FINAL ACT AS AN AGENDA FOR THE MAIN MEETING. LIPATTI ENVISAGED FOR THE BELGRADE MAIN MEETING AN OPENING PLENARY WITH SPEECHES BY HEADS OF DELEGATION, AT LEAST THREE COMMITTEES, EACH DEALING WITH A BASKET, A WORKING GROUP ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND PERHAPS OTHER WORKING GROUPS. "DEEP ANALYSIS" WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE COMMITTEES, WHICH WOULD BE CLOSED, AND NEW PROPOSALS WOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED THERE. LIPATTI STATED ROMANIANS DID NOT FAVOR COMMITTEES MAKING FULL EVALUATION, THEN TURNING TO SEPARATE CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS; THEY FAVORED AN "ORGANIC LINK" BETWEEN EVALUATION AND STIMULATION, I.E., NEW PROPOSALS. US SIDE STATED THAT NEW PROPOSALS SHOULD EMANATE FROM LOGIC OF THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, BUT THAT ATTENTION PAID TO NEW PROPOSALS SHOULD IN NO WAY UNDERCUT IMPACT OF IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW. CONCERNING NON-SIGNATORY INVITEES, LIPATTI STATED ROMANIA FAVORED INVITATIONS TO MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THE DIRECTORS GENERAL OF THE ECE AND OF UNESCO AS WELL AS UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE OPENING AND CLOSING PLENARY SESSIONS. LIPATTI STATED ROMANIA WOULD NOT AGREE TO SPECIAL STATUS OF REPRESENTATION FOR THE EC-9, I.E., EC-9 COULD NOT BE THE 36TH PARTICIPANT AT BELGRADE. US SIDE INDICATED THAT WE HAD INFORMED EC-9 THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT WHATEVER DECISION ON REPRESENTATION THEY TOOK. LIPATTI STATED THAT ROMANIA DOES NOT YET HAVE A FORMAL POSITION ON WHETHER OPENING AND CLOSING PLENARIES SHOULD BE PUBLIC OR PRIVATE MEETINGS. US SIDE STATED THAT WE FAVORED PUBLIC OPENING AND CLOSING SESSIONS, AND LIPATTI STATED ROMANIANS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE NO PROBLEM IN ADOPTING THIS POSITION. CONCERNING FINAL DOCUMENT, ROMANIANS STATED THIS SHOULD BE A SHORT PAPER RANGING SEVEN TO TEN PAGES AND SHOULD NOT BE AN ATTEMPT
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TO DUPLICATE THE FINAL ACT. IT SHOULD BE DRAFTED IN A

FACTUAL MANNER AND SHOULD CONTAIN A PASSAGE ON EVALUATION OF PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED.

6. CBMS: THE ROMANIANS WERE QUITE PRO-CBM. THEY SAW ROOM FOR THREE TYPES OF CBM PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE: SUPPLEMENTARY CBMS COMING FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT; MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT MEASURES; AND ONE OR TWO ORIGINAL DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. LIPATTI STATED ROMANIANS FEEL CBMS PORTION OF FINAL ACT IS WEAK. THEY FAVOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A CBMS WORKING GROUP AT BELGRADE THAT WOULD CONTINUE TO FUNCTION AFTER CONCLUSION OF BELGRADE

MEETING. THEY ARE IN FAVOR OF WORKING GROUP HAVING SPECIFIC MANDATE AND CONCRETE WORK AGENDA. ROMANIANS ALSO STATED THEY PROBABLY WOULD BE TABLING ONE OR MORE CBMS ON MILITARY MOVEMENTS AT BELGRADE, AND THAT THEY INTENDED TO DO SO IN ORDER TO "TEST THE WATER" AT BELGRADE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE DISARMAMENT/CBMS AREA. WHILE MAKING NO COMMITMENT, LIPATTI REACTED POSITIVELY TO POSSIBLE CBM ON OBSERVER TREATMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, LIPATTI STRESSED IMPORTANCE TO ROMANIA OF FURTHER PROGRESS ON CBMS AND NOTED THAT INITIATIVES WERE PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE IN CBMS AREA. US SIDE VOICED HOPE THAT CBM INITIATIVES COULD BE CONSIDERED AT BELGRADE RATHER THAN MANDATED TO CBMS WORKING GROUP, BUT DID NOT RULE OUT ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING GROUP IF PARTICIPANTS AGREED IT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST. ROMANIANS NOTED THAT CONSIDERATION OF EXPECTED NUMEROUS CBM PROPOSALS ONLY AT BELGRADE COULD LEAD TO LENGTHLY SIX MONTHS") MAIN MEETING, AND WONDERED IF THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH OVERALL US OBJECTIVES. ROMANIANS ALSO NOTED PARENTHETICALLY THAT, WHILE THERE WAS NO GENERIC LINK BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR, THE STATUS OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD INEVITABLY BE BROUGHT UP IN BELGRADE AND PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH THIS

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ISSUE IN SOME WAY. RE NUF, THE ROMANIANS INDICATED THEY WOULD SURFACE AT BELGRADE THE IDEA OF A TREATY BANNING THE USE OF FORCE BY THE PARTICIPANTS. THEY EMPHASIZED THAT THIS INCLUDED USE OF BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR ARMS. THEY RECOGNIZED THERE WOULD BE OPPOSITION TO THIS IDEA BUT SAID THEY WANTED TO RAISE IT TO SEE IF IT COULD BE AGREED TO GIVE THE MATTER FURTHER STUDY.

7. BASKET II: TWO SIDES CARRIED OUT A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BASKET II ISSUES. US STATED THAT THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE BASKET II COOPERATION IS TO ADOPT SPECIFIC AND LIMITED PROJECTS. WE ACQUAINTED ROMANIANS WITH SEVERAL US UNILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL BASKET II INITIATIVES, I.E., THE RECENTLY-PUBLISHED COMMERCE DEPARTMENT CSCE GUIDE FOR US BUSINESSMEN AND OUR SUBMISSIONS TO THE ECE ON

ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL INFORMATION AND LISTS OF DIRECTORIES OF ALL US FIRMS. IN HIS REMARKS, LIPATTI STRESSED THAT FOR ROMANIA AS A "SOCIALIST DEVELOPING COUNTRY" PROBLEMS WITH TARIFFS, NTBS, QUOTAS, AND RELATED TRADE ISSUES ARE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE IN THE BASKET II CONTEXT. HE ALSO CITED ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ITS ECONOMIC STATISTICS AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION AND IN ADDITION, RIGOROUSLY CRITICIZED THE ECE FOR WHAT ROMANIANS SEE AS ITS UNSATISFACTORY, BLOC-TO-BLOC ORIENTATION. LIPATTI ALSO STATED, CONCERNING BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS, THAT ROMANIA SUPPORTS THEM IN PRINCIPLE BUT WITH CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

AMONG THESE ARE THAT CONFERENCES MUST BE THOROUGHLY PREPARED WITH SPECIFIC AGENDA AND CONCRETE OBJECTIVES. CONCERNING PROCEDURE AT CONFERENCES, ROMANIA STATED THAT THEY HAD TOLD SOVIETS AND THE ECE THAT CONFERENCES MUST ADOPT "DEMOCRATIC" CSCE RULES IN ORDER TO AVOID BLOC-TO-BLOC ORIENTATION. LIPATTI ALSO NOTED THE POSITIVE IMPACT IN TERMS OF BASKET II OF THE FIVE NATION BALKAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT.

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8. BASKET III: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ARMITAGE MADE A PRESENTATION TO THE ROMANIANS ON US VIEW OF BASKET III AND ALSO ENCOURAGED THE ROMANIANS TO IMPROVE THEIR RECORD IN FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND US/ROMANIAN MARRIAGE CASES. ARMITAGE REVIEWED US CONCERN WITH GENERAL LACK OF WP COMPLIANCE TO BASKET III PROVISIONS, CITING AMONG OTHER MATTERS SOVIET TREATMENT OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS AND CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO PRE-CENSOR NEWSPAPERMEN BEFORE ISSUING VISAS. IN SEPARATE PRESENTATION ON CULTURAL EXCHANGES, US SIDE URGED ROMANIANS TO INCREASE NUMBER OF ROMANIAN NOMINEES FOR SUCH PROGRAMS. LIPATTI RESPONDED INITIALLY BY STATING ROMANIA'S INABILITY TO DETERMINE OTHER WP COUNTRIES' POLICIES ON FINAL ACT COMPLIANCE, THAT WHAT THE USSR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR OTHER EASTERN CSCE SIGNATORIES WERE DOING COULD NOT FRUITFULLY BE ANALYSED IN GOR TALKS WITH THE US. LIPATTI STATED THAT ROMANIA HAD SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED MOST BASKET III PROBLEMS WITH MANY OTHER EUROPEAN STATES AND EC-9 COUNTRIES. WITH THE US, HOWEVER, THE PROBLEMS WERE EXACERBATED BECAUSE OF LARGE VOLUME. LIPATTI DREW IRONIC CONTRAST BETWEEN CREDIT GIVEN TO BULGARIA BECAUSE 26 OF 28 FAMILY CASES HAD BEEN SOLVED AND LACK OF CREDIT GIVEN TO ROMANIA, DESPITE THE FACT THAT A MUCH HIGHER NUMBER OF US-ROMANIAN FAMILY CASES HAD BEEN SOLVED. SUCH NEGATIVE PRESS COVERAGE TENDS TO PRODUCE A "RIGID REACTION" FROM THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP. LIPATTI STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT ROMANIANS WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SOLVE CASES OF A "TRUE HUMANITARIAN NATURE." LIPATTI SAID THAT ROMANIA WOULD ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE "CLASSICAL"

CASES INVOLVING THE 400,000 GERMAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA,
BUT COULD NOT APPROVE A POLICY OF "TRANSFER OF POPULATION."
ROMANIANS INTEND TO ACT ON TRULY HUMANITARIAN CASES
BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE BELGRADE MEETING. CONCERNING
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, LIPATTI DEFENDED THE WORKING
CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS IN ROMANIA AND GAVE AN UP-BEAT
PRESENTATION ON NUMBERS OF US PUBLICATIONS REACHING THE
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ROMANIAN MARKET. HOWEVER, HE STRESSED THE SERIOUS
FINANCIAL PROBLEMS FOR ROMANIANS IN FURTHER EXPANSION IN
NUMBER OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS IN ROMANIA.

8. FOR USNATO: YOU MAY INFORM ALLIES GENERALLY OF
THESE DISCUSSIONS.

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